HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Network News Biased

Public Should Demand TV Fairness

By VICE PRESIDENT SPIRO T. AGNEW

(The following is the text of the speech the vice president delivered to the Midwest Regional Republican Committee meeting in Des Moines, Iowa, November 13. For comment, see page 3.)

Tonight I want to discuss the importance of the television news medium to the American people. No nation depends more on the intelligent judgment of its citizens. No medium has a more profound influence over public opinion. Nowhere in our system are there fewer checks on vast power. So, nowhere should there be more conscientious responsibility exercised than by the news media.

The question is: Are we demanding enough of our television news presentations? And, are the men of this medium demanding enough of themselves?

Monday night, a week ago, President Nixon delivered the most important address of his Administration, one of the most important of our decade. His subject was Viet Nam. His hope was to rally the American people to see the conflict through to a lasting and just peace in the Pacific. For 32 minutes he reasoned with a nation that has suffered almost a third of a million casualties in the longest war in its history.

When the President completed his address—an address that he spent weeks in preparing—his words and policies were subjected to instant analysis and querulous criticism. The audience of 70 million Americans—gathered to hear the President of the United States—was inherited by a small band of network commentators and self-appointed analysts, the *majority* of whom expressed, in one way or another, their hostility to what he had to say.

It was obvious that their minds were made up in advance. Those who recall the fumbling and groping that followed President Johnson's dramatic disclosure of his intention not to seek re-election have seen these men in a genuine state of non-preparedness. This was not it.

One commentator twice contradicted the President's statement about the exchange of correspondence with Ho Chi Minh. Another challenged the President's abilities as a politician. A third asserted that the President was now "following the Pentagon line." Others, by the expressions on their faces, the tone of their questions, and the sarcasm of their responses, made clear their sharp disapproval.

To guarantee in advance that the President's plea for national unity would be challenged, one network trotted out Averell Harriman for the occasion. Throughout the President's address he waited in the wings. When the President concluded, Mr. Harriman recited perfectly:

He attacked the Thieu government as unrepresentative; he criticized the President's speech for various deficiencies; he twice issued a call to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to debate Viet Nam once again; he stated his belief that the Viet Cong or North Vietnamese did not really want a military takeover of South Viet Nam; he told a little anecdote about a "very, very responsible" fellow he had met in the North Vietnamese delegation.

All in all, Mr. Harriman offered a broad range of gratuitous advice—challenging and contradicting the policies outlined by the President of the United States. Where the President had issued a call for unity, Mr. Harriman was encouraging the country not to listen to him.

A word about Mr. Harriman. For 10 months he was America's chief negotiator at the Paris peace talks—a period in which the United States swapped some of the greatest military concessions in the history of warfare for an enemy agreement on the shape of a bargaining table.

Like Coleridge's Ancient Mariner, **Mr. Harriman seems to be under some heavy compulsion to justify his failures to anyone who will listen. The networks have shown themselves willing to give him all the air time he desires.**

Every American has a right to disagree with the President of the United States, and to express publicly that disagreement. But the President of the United States has a right to communicate directly with the people who elected him, and the people of this country have the right to make up their own minds and form their own opinions about a presidential address without having the President's words and thoughts characterized through the prejudices of hostile critics before they can even be digested.

In another hard-hitting speech, the vice president has laid down a challenge to the networks and the public alike.

When Winston Churchill rallied public opinion to stay the course against Hitler's Germany, he did not have to contend with a gaggle of commentators raising doubts about whether he was reading public opinion right, or whether Britain had the stamina to see the war through. When President Kennedy rallied the nation in the Cuban missile crisis, his address to the people was not chewed over by a round-table of critics who disparaged the course of action he had asked America to follow.

The purpose of my remarks tonight is to focus your attention on this little group of men who not only enjoy a right of instant rebuttal to every presidential address, but more importantly, wield a free hand in selecting, presenting and interpreting the great issues of our nation.

First, let us define that power. At least 40 million Americans each night, it is estimated, watch the network news. Seven million of them view ABC, the remainder being divided between NBC and CBS. According to Harris polls and other studies, for millions of Americans the networks are the sole source of national and world news.

In Will Rogers' observation, what you knew was what you read in the newspaper. Today, for growing millions of Americans, it what they see and hear on their television sets.

How is this network news determined? A small group of men, numbering perhaps no more than a dozen "anchormen," commentators and executive producers, settle upon the 20 minutes or so of film and commentary that is to reach the public. This selection is made from the 90 to 180 minutes that may be available. Their powers of choice are broad. They decide what 40 to 50 million Americans will learn of the day's events in the nation and the world.

We cannot measure this power and influence by traditional democratic standards, for these men can create national issues overnight. They can make or break—by their coverage and commentary—a Moratorium on the war. They can elevate men from local obscurity to national prominence within a week. They can reward some politicians with national exposure and ignore others. For millions of Americans the network reporter who covers a continuing issue, like ABM or civil rights, becomes, in effect, the presiding judge in a national trial by jury.

It must be recognized that the networks have made important contributions to the national knowledge. Through news, documentaries and specials, they have often used their power constructively and creatively to awaken the public conscience to critical problems.

The networks made "hunger" and "black lung" disease national issues overnight. The TV networks have done what no other medium could have done in terms of dramatizing the horrors of war. The networks have tackled our most difficult social problems with a directness and immediacy that is the gift of their medium. They have focused the nation's attention on its environmental abuses—on pollution in the Great Lakes and the threatened ecology of the Everglades.

But it was also the networks that elevated Stokely Carmichael and George Lincoln Rockwell from obscurity to national prominence—nor is their power confined to the substantive.

A raised eyebrow, an inflection of the voice, a caustic remark dropped in the middle of a broadcast can raise doubts in a million minds about the veracity of a public official or the wisdom of a government policy.

One Federal Communications commissioner considers the power of the networks to equal that of local, state and federal governments combined. Certainly, it represents a concentration of power over American public opinion unknown in history.

What do Americans know of the men who wield this power? Of the men who produce and direct the network news—the nation knows practically nothing. Of the commentators, most Americans know little, other than that they reflect an urbane and assured presence, seemingly well-informed on every important matter.

We do know that, to a man, these commentators and producers live and work in the geographical and intellectual confines of Washington, D.C., or New York City—the latter of which James Reston terms the "most unrepresentative community in the entire United States." Both communities bask in their own provincialism, their own parochialism. We can deduce that these men thus

Continued on page 12

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Capital Briefs

● Judging from telephone calls, telegrams and just plain mail, the reaction to Vice President Agnew's speech has been overwhelmingly favorable. Commenting on the situation, Sen. **Paul Fannin** (R.-Ariz.) stressed that the television networks "not only misread the temper of the people, but misrepresented what he said. One network president said apparently the vice president wants television to be subservient to the party in power. Mr. Agnew specifically excluded any kind of government censorship. The plain fact is the vice president has applied the prod to a sacred cow and the bellowing is being heard across the land."

● Former Rep. Donald Rumsfeld has finally come across with an endorsement of Dr. **Philip Crane,** the conservative GOP candidate running a special election in Illinois' 13th Congressional District—the seat that Rumsfeld resigned when he became head of the OEO. Rumsfeld, who has become increasingly liberal since his switch from lawmaker to chief poverty warrior, was described by insiders as "very reluctant" to support Crane, even though Crane has been endorsed by the entire Illinois GOP congressional delegation. Rumsfeld supplied an "oral" endorsement only after he had been virtually told to do so by the President, but he has backed off from a request to put the endorsement in writing.

● In the recent shakeup in the White House, insiders say that **Daniel Patrick Moynihan,** the iconoclastic liberal and chief author of President Nixon's welfare reform proposal, will have his powers greatly reduced. Despite the fact that he has been given the impressive-sounding title of "Counselor to the President," most of Moynihan's staff, it develops, is being turned over to the more conservative John Erlichman.

● Mrs. **Mary Scranton,** wife of former Pennsylvania governor and ex-GOP presidential candidate William Scranton, was discovered to have voted the straight Democratic ticket in the recent Pennsylvania elections. Mrs. Scranton cast an absentee ballot which is subject to examination. When queried by reporters as to his wife's rather curious vote, in view of the fact that he was once a leading Republican politician, Gov. Scranton replied that it could be a mistake, "but I doubt it."

● Los Angeles Superior Court Judge **Jerry Pacht,** the goateed jurist who ruled it unconstitutional to fire Communist teacher Angela Davis from the University of California, has been a frequent supporter of radical causes. One of his main campaigns during private practice was to defend left-wing extremists and to campaign against a law which required government officials to swear they had never belonged to any organization advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence. The Los Angeles Times reported that Pacht himself "reluctantly" swore he had never belonged to any such organization.

● The name of **Clark Mollenhoff,** President Nixon's special deputy counsel, is being bruited around as a possible successor to FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover. Mollenhoff, a lawyer, one of the top investigative reporters for the Des Moines Register before he joined the White House staff, is widely respected on Capitol Hill for his fierce integrity.

● Courses in **"black studies"** demanded by Negro militants are being ignored by black students—at least in the District of Columbia. Local firebrand Julius Hobson, defeated for re-election to the Washington school board earlier this month, has bragged that he forced the school system to introduce Swahili by getting "50 students to come down and raise hell." But only 150 students—of more than 50,000 enrolled in junior and senior high schools—have signed up for the course. Indeed, less than 5 per cent of the city's black students are enrolled in black studies courses of any kind.

● India's Prime Minister **Indira Gandhi,** unceremoniously kicked out of the ruling Congress party last week, still was given a vote of confidence by parliament and will stay in power largely due to the leftists who like her radical leanings. When Mrs. Gandhi's rule was threatened, the leaders of India's two Communist parties, whose members control 43 seats in the lower house, called upon members to support Mrs. Gandhi "in crushing reaction."

● The **Swedish government** will give North Viet Nam about $44 million in donations and credits over a three-month period beginning July 1, 1970, it was announced by Swedish Foreign Minister Torsten Nillson last week. The U.S. State Department, as usual, was unable to persuade the increasingly pro-Communist Sweden from going ahead with the transaction.

● Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.) has his first opponent for renomination next year—the Rev. **Joseph D. Duffey,** national chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action. Duffey says he will not make Dodd's censure an issue but will concentrate on the "issues"—Dodd's vigorous anti-communism, his hard-line foreign policy views and support of military preparedness.

● Former astronaut **John Glenn** is about to throw his helmet into the 1969 Ohio senatorial contest. Other Democrats interested in the nomination include former Rep. John Gilligan, former Sen. Frank Lausche and Rep. Charles Vanik. Possible GOP nominees include Gov. James Rhodes and three GOP congressmen, John Ashbrook, Donald (Buz) Lukens and Robert Taft Jr.

● Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans and Labor Secretary George Shultz are studying a plan to reduce the current **minimum wage** of $1.60 an hour to $1.25 for teen-agers, in the hope of reducing unemployment among the young, the group with the highest jobless rate.

● The manager of New York Mayor **John Lindsay's successful re-election campaign,** Richard Aurelio, has told Gotham reporters that he believes Lindsay made only one "glaring error" during his race. That was the mayor's order that city buildings lower their flags to half-staff on the day of the October 15 Viet Nam Moratorium.

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House TV Probe Backs Agnew

Network officials, liberal senators and much of the East Coast press were in a state of apoplexy last week after Vice President Spiro Agnew's stinging verbal assault on the bias of the TV news media. Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, always warmly treated by the "Nets," decided that Agnew's speech was "an attack designed to pit American against American," because it didn't agree with Teddy's view of the way things are. The network presidents shouted "Censorship!" or its equivalent, though Agnew clearly called for only a fairer presentation of the news. And Thomas P. F. Hoving, a Lindsayite who heads the National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting, proclaimed that Agnew's attack was "disgraceful," "ignorant" and "base."

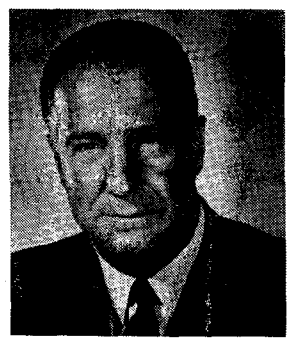
Yet no amount of hysteria aimed at Agnew could hide the fact that the vice president was right on the mark, as the results of a year-long probe by a special subcommittee on investigations of the House Commerce Committee make clear. Touched on by Agnew in his sizzling spanking of the networks, the report, briefly mentioned on these pages last week, details the prejudiced manner in which TV covered the 1968 Democratic National Convention.

Worked on by a number of staffers and compiled by counsel Daniel Menelli and chief investigator James P. Kelly, the report concludes that: "In an attempt to give an over-all impression, it might be said that the coverage presented over the air does, in retrospect, seem to present a one-sided picture which in large measure exonerates the demonstrators and protesters and indicts the city government of Chicago and, to a lesser degree, the Democratic party."

The report strongly suggests that the TV commentators—the same ones that Agnew was discussing—were biased against the "Establishment" from the outset, not only because of ideology but because they were annoyed at the security arrangements and the inconvenience caused by the transportation strikes and lack of facilities.

TV reporters repeatedly condemned the convention arrangements and, as if to bolster their own partisan feelings, would collect remarks assailing "oppressive" police tactics from such left-wing liberals as Shirley MacLaine, Jules Feiffer, Theodore Bikel, Arthur Miller and Paul Newman.

From the facts gathered by the staff investigators, the Menelli-Kelly report avers, ". . .it would be possible to conclude that the networks had deliberately



AGNEW

CRONKITE

sought out for interview those with known biased feelings against the conduct of the convention and the city government, some of whom would appear to have questionable credentials as political commentators."

The staff paper also singles out both CBS and its principal commentator, Walter Cronkite, for special criticism. Unlike the other networks, for instance, CBS even "declined to provide the names of the film editors" so they could be interviewed by House probers. Cronkite, furthermore, not only somberly and monotonously criticized the convention setup but may have distorted the news in other ways as well.

"In viewing the videotape of the CBS convention coverage," the report contends, "the investigators noted a passage in which Mr. Cronkite stated that the police were 'severely manhandling a minister.' The accompanying action shows police merely attempting to get a man dressed in clerical garb into a patrol wagon, using what the investigators felt was reasonable force to overcome the man's resistance."

A review by subcommittee sleuths of the "outtakes"; i.e., film that was taken but never used, "left the investigators with the impression that the significant outtakes contained a predominant

amount of material which would have been unfavorable to the demonstrators."

Reel No. 236-109, taken by CBS but not used over the air, was a display of weapons used by the demonstrators against the police. Film No. 236-292, also not used, contains shots of police being stoned.

One of the more astonishing examples of CBS's curious scissoring techniques was in connection with CBS reel No. 20-5, taken on the evening of August 28. The title of this reel was "Arresting of Hippies and Rough Line Between Police and Hippies. No. 2." Says the report: "This presents a night scene in front of the Hilton Hotel, with a live microphone located in a mobile unit. One of the announcers says: 'They are assaulting police lines.' Investigators note that this was the first indication found of any recognition by those covering the event for television that provocation of the police was involved in the subsequent altercation between the demonstrators and police in front of the hotel.

"Because of the communications difficulties arising from a communications strike, this taped material could not be presented over the air until about 45 minutes after the event occurred. When the material was presented over the air, no reference was made to the above-quoted remark, nor was any scene of such an assault visible. Shots of material raining down from the Hilton Hotel onto the heads of the police and news camera crews was also available but not broadcast. The investigators also noted footage showing police cars being stoned by the demonstrators with the police pursuing and capturing at least one of the stone throwers. . . .

"While many of the commentators spoke at length concerning the shock they felt concerning what was happening to the young demonstrators downtown, little or no comment was made concerning profanity, obscene signs and gestures, and physical abuse employed by the demonstrators to provoke the police. . . .

". . .Scenes were recorded by the cameras which, at least arguably, might have put a different tone on the broadcasters' coverage of the convention. Crowds were shown in violent and ugly moods. Police were shown being stoned and pelted with rocks and bottles. Obscene signs and language were discernible, both of which might have diminished any sympathy felt for the demonstrators by the average viewer. . . ."

The staff report noted that in the process of editing, a provocatory blow can be omitted showing only the counterblow. Thus, an incident may be transformed into the appearance of an unprovoked arrest or attack by the police officer.

"Just such an incident," says the report, "was alleged to have occurred. An informant, who was personally present to witness a disturbance at the corner of Michigan Avenue and Balbo Drive, informed the staff that he observed a demonstrator pick up a wooden sawhorse and hurl it against a police officer. The officer immediately charged the demonstrator, struck him and took him into custody.

"The informant relates that he and a friend, who also witnessed the event, saw the incident covered on a television news program later that evening. He stated that the coverage did not show the action of the demonstrator in throwing the sawhorse, but showed only the police officer making what now appeared to be an unprovoked assault on a demonstrator followed by an arrest. . . .

"The incident is shown. . .in a book entitled *Chicago Eyewitness* by Mark Lane. [Lane, who has an affinity for far-left causes, is perhaps best known for his efforts to clear Lee Harvey Oswald of any guilt in the assassination of President Kennedy.] This book, which is critical of the Chicago authorities, is illustrated by a number of photographs. One sequence of photographs shows a segment of the crowd, including a uniformed police officer and a plainclothes detective.

"The sequence shows the sawhorse in the process of being thrown, and the subsequent arrest of the demonstrator. The captions to the photographs, however, assert that it is the police officer who is hurling the sawhorse at the crowd. The incident is discussed in Mr. Lane's book, and again it is asserted that the police officer for no apparent reason hurled a sawhorse at the crowd and then arbitrarily arrested a demonstrator.

"Upon inspection of the photographs, however, it seems clear that it is the police officer who is the target of the flying sawhorse. His arms are shown outstretched as if to ward off the object. His hands are extending through the rungs of the sawhorse in such a way that it appears impossible he could be throwing it. The caption underneath, however, reads: 'Policeman throws sawhorse at crowd.'" The "sawhorse incident," then, apparently received the "Lane" treatment when it appeared on TV—just another incident supporting Agnew's thesis of the towering bias in TV news coverage.

• TV's distortion of events was also proved earlier this year by FBI and other investigators doing work for the House Agriculture Appropriations subcommittee chaired by Rep. Jamie Whitten (D.-Miss.). Delving into the background of CBS's documentary, "Hunger in America," committee investigators discovered that much of what the film claimed was untrue. A CBS narrator, for instance, in perhaps the most dramatic scene in the movie, solemnly stated that a baby he was viewing had just died of starvation. Yet the doctor who pronounced the baby dead told House investigators the baby was not even undernourished and had died from other causes entirely. (See *Human Events*, June 14, page 421.)

Even Liberals Like the Veep

The liberal news media is fond of zapping the vice president, but his outspoken opinions have, so far, only appeared to increase his popularity. The Gallup poll shows a rise in positive opinion for the Veep, and he is fast becoming the toast of even Washington, D.C.

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• Vice President Agnew has asked the public to write the networks and their local stations urging them to present the news in a fair and impartial manner. For your convenience, we are again listing the addresses of the major TV networks:

American Broadcasting Co.
7 West 66th Street
New York, N.Y. 10023
President: Leonard H. Goldenson
ABC News: Elmer Lower

Columbia Broadcasting System
51 West 52nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10019
President: Frank Stanton
CBS News: Richard S. Salant

National Broadcasting Co.
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10020
President: Julian Goodman
NBC News: Donald Meaney

Reporting on Agnew's reception in the Nation's Capital—before his denunciation of the TV networks—the Washington *Star* noted in its society pages that while the sympathizers make fun of him for "foot-in-mouth disease," more and more the people on the party circuit are calling him the "voice of common sense in the wilderness."

At the John Slocums supper party to honor historian Dr. David Boorstin, new head of the Museum of History and Technology, the vice president's admirers, said the *Star,* "apparently way outnumbered his detractors.

"And this was no right-wing gathering of Birchites or even one-time Goldwater supporters. A lot of these people were admirers and supporters of Adlai Stevenson. At a table for 10, nine persons agreeing with Agnew's stand on demonstrators and his belief in discipline within the family included Mrs. Dillon Ripley, wife of the progressive head of the Smithsonian; Prof. Alexander Victor of Yale University and his wife, and John Slocum.

"Heyward Isham, a diplomat for whom David Bruce and Nicholas Katzenbach vied when the latter was under secretary of state and the former ambassador to Great Britain, said he was inclined to agree with the vice president."

Volpe in Strange Company

Republican politicos were astonished last week to find Secretary of Transportation John Volpe prominent among those dignitaries at the Soviet Embassy celebrating the 52nd anniversary of the Bolshevik takeover of Czarist Russia.

VOLPE

What struck them as supremely ironic is that Volpe, during the 1968 campaign, served as co-chairman of the Nixon-Agnew Nationalities Committee, the unit that was supposed to be representing Eastern European ethnic groups whose countries had come under Soviet boot and heel.

To compound the felony, Volpe, who went to the Soviet Union on a cultural exchange program six years ago between his first and second terms as governor of Massachusetts, said that he enjoyed Siberia where he viewed some wondrous Soviet construction projects.

"Unfortunately," commented one government official, "Volpe wasn't shown the concentration camps during his Potemkin Village tour—nor did he comment on this aspect of Siberian culture." Perhaps, this same official mused, Volpe's performance at the embassy reveals why it "takes him a month or two before he ever gets to see President Nixon."

Business Eyeing NLRB Choice

While it hasn't been widely publicized, business groups across the nation are anxiously waiting to see what the President is going to do with his upcoming opportunity to pick a new member and chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, a five-man panel that is often viewed by its critics as a virtual arm of the AFL-CIO.

The President, it is being stressed in political circles, has a solid chance to score big in the business community which has been sorely disappointed by several surprising actions of the Administration, including its retreat on the oil depletion allowance, its rigid—and probably unconstitutional—anti-trust policy, and its apparently successful campaign to scrap the 7 per cent investment tax credit.

The President next month will be able to make his first nomination to the board, since the term of Sam Zagoria, a liberal Republican and former administrative assistant to Sen. Clifford Case of New Jersey, expires on December 16. Nixon is also expected to designate his nominee as the board's new chairman, as the current chairman, Frank McCulloch, is a liberal Democrat whose policies are considered far too radical for the present Administration.

A quiet but intense struggle as to who will succeed Zagoria is now going on behind the scenes. Both Case and, reportedly, the Garden State's new governor-elect, Rep. William Cahill, are urging the President to reappoint Zagoria, but labor experts contend that Zagoria may be far too "union oriented" for the President's tastes, though he appears to have been inching his way toward the employer point of view in the last six months. Zagoria's critics contend, however, that this inching process is an effort to get himself reappointed.

Many politicos point out, furthermore, that Nixon owes very little to Clifford Case. The New Jersey liberal not only tried to stop his delegation from breaking toward Nixon in the 1968 Republican presidential convention, but he helped lead the fight against the President on the ABM issue.

Sen. Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.), the ranking Republican on the Labor Committee, is reportedly pushing his own administrative assistant, Frank Cummings, for the NLRB slot.

A number of businessmen, including those from General Electric and Deering Milliken, are hoping the Administration will ignore the pleas of both Case and Javits and nominate to the board someone who is not perpetually enamored with the cause of the union bosses. The board, it is charged, already replete with "union firsters," is in desperate need of balance.

Three men who have the support of business and who are now being prominently mentioned as possibilities to succeed Zagoria include Harry L. Browne, Thomas Shroyer and Michael Bernstein. Browne, who has the backing of Roger Milliken, is a crack Kansas City, Mo., attorney, with wide experience in the labor field.

Shroyer, who worked closely with the late Sen. Robert Taft and served with the NLRB from 1941-47, would also be considered a first-rate choice.

Bernstein, however, appears to be receiving an especially strong push by a number of senators. Currently minority counsel on the House Education and Labor Committee, he has written and lectured extensively on labor law. A life-long Republican who has served with both the Department of Labor and the general counsel's office of the NLRB, Bernstein was picked by Sen. Taft in 1953 to head up the majority legal staff of the Senate Labor Committee and served in this capacity for the next two years. From 1955 through 1964 he served as minority counsel for Republican members of the Senate Labor Committee, and was instrumental in drafting the Landrum-Griffin Act and other labor legislation. Though considered conservative, Bernstein also has the respect of many liberals because of his fairness and keen knowledge of the law.

Whatever the President decides, the business community fervently hopes that he will choose someone sympathetic to the business point of view. "It's the least he can do," remarked one Virginia entrepreneur. "He hasn't done much for us so far."

Radicals Bomb New York

A series of "revolutionary bombings" aimed at the nation's "military-industrial complex" ended last week with the arrest by the FBI of four alleged saboteurs. A fifth suspect was the object of a nationwide manhunt.

The New York blasts, which caused 21 injuries and losses totalling $250,000, began July 27 when facilities of the "imperialist" United Fruit Co. were bombed. In succeeding weeks the terrorists hit two banks, the offices of General Motors and RCA, New York's Criminal Courts Building, and three government installations—the Federal Office Building, the Armed Forces Induction Station and the 69th Regimental Armory.

The armory blast was thwarted last Wednesday when FBI agents moved in minutes after a time bomb was placed in an Army truck. Two suspects were arrested at the scene and the bomb defused.

Ringleader of the gang, according to authorities, was gun-toting Samuel Joseph Melville, arrested at the Armory site. Seized with him was George Demmerle, a familiar face at radical demonstrations throughout New York. Two other suspects—Jane Lauren Alpert and John D. Hughey III—were arrested within hours and a warrant was issued for the arrest of a fifth conspirator, Pat Swinton. Each of the five has close connections with the radical left.

• Demmerle, 39, has been affiliated with the Crazies, a small band of anarchists and terrorists that operates from New York's East Village. Only last spring he was arrested on charges of theft of services and possession of "forged instruments" after trying unsuccessfully to crash a Commodore Hotel luncheon featuring former Vice President Hubert Humphrey.

• The 34-year-old Melville was arrested in May 1968 for trespassing and disorderly conduct during the SDS takeover of Columbia University. Melville, an unemployed engineering technician, was not enrolled at Columbia.

This was the scene as workmen pick their way through the debris left from a bomb blast at the Chase Manhattan Building in downtown Manhattan.

• Miss Alpert, who was about to leave for the Washington, D.C. Moratorium at the time of her arrest, was employed as a staff writer for the "Rat," an underground newspaper that has carried detailed instructions on the manufacture of incendiary bombs.

• Hughey, son of a Richmond, Va., minister, had been employed until recently as an artist for the *Guardian,* a radical weekly published in New York. With Miss Alpert, he was a member of the Revolutionary Contingent, a now-defunct group patterned

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after Cuban and Viet Cong heroes.

• Miss Swinton, 22, has worked for the North American Congress of Latin America—a pro-Castro outfit that is dedicated to the end of "imperialistic exploitation" throughout the hemisphere. She has been linked with other radical groups, including the Women's Liberation Front and the Crazies.

Miss Swinton is believed to have written the anonymous letters mailed to newspapers explaining the bombers' motivation. In one postmarked just hours before the FBI moved in, the terrorists alluded to the trial of the "Chicago 8."

"The Establishment is in for some big surprises if it thinks that kangaroo courts and death sentences can arrest a revolution. The anger of youth and all oppressed people is mounting against this mockery. There's one thing the cowards who rule this world must know: The will to freedom of the people is stronger than the fear of any repression. Liberty or death!"

The four suspects were held on $500,000 bond for a November 18 hearing. The plot is believed to have been foiled by an undercover informant—perhaps one of the defendants. Authorities would say only they were basing their case, in part, on "admissions made by one of the defendants."

Fannin Frightens Big Labor

The AFL-CIO is launching an all-out drive to prevent the Senate from adopting Sen. Paul Fannin's (R.-Ariz.) proposed amendment to the tax bill which would deny tax exemption to labor oganizations who engage in political activities. A front-page article in the recent COPE *Memo,* an AFL-CIO publication mailed to unions throughout the country, quiveringly warns of the proposal's consequences.

According to the labor publication, a registration and get-out-the vote drive, if funded in any way by dues or assessments, would be out; candidate support would be out. Lobbying, presumably, would be out. Other political activities: Out. All of this on all levels—national, state and local.

Actually, however, the Fannin amendment does nothing more than take away preferential treatment now accorded the labor unions and puts them on the same footing as the Chamber of Commerce and like organizations.

With the Fannin amendment in effect, a labor organization can do all the politicking it wants to—it would just have to pay taxes like every other organization engaged in equivalent activities. If it wants to avoid taxes, then it would have to abide by the same rules as the Chamber and the NAM.

The amendment, noted COPE, was blocked in the Senate Finance Committee by an 8-to-8 tie vote, and would have won if Sen. Herman Talmadge (D.-Ga.), who was expected to vote for it, hadn't decided to take a powder. Fannin, however, has planned to offer his amendment again when the tax bill comes to the floor for a vote. If adopted, it could have far-reaching consequences by cutting off the flow of compulsory union dues into union political causes. Aware of its possible impact, COPE is rallying its allies to make sure the Fannin amendment has no chance for passage.

• Voting for the proposal in committee were Republicans Fannin, Williams (Del.), Bennett (Utah), Miller (Iowa), Curtis (Neb.), Jordan (Idaho), Hansen Wyo.) and Democrat Byrd (Va.). The eight votes that knocked the amendment down were all cast by union-toadying Democrats: Long (La.), Anderson (N.M.), Gore (Tenn.), McCarthy (Minn.), Fulbright (Ark.), Harris (Okla.), Ribicoff (Conn.) and Hartke (Ind.).

Effects of Desegregation Order

Down in Holmes County, Miss., where the suit resulting in the Supreme Court's recent immediate school desegregation order originated, the effect of that ruling may be bitter and ironic. Residents of the rural, delta area county fully expect that the court's ruling will result in an all-black public school system, as white parents place their children in private schools.

What is more, both black and white observers throughout the South believe this will be the effect of the court's ruling in most of the 250 Southern school districts affected by the ruling. In most of these, it is noted, the black population outnumbers the white and the embittered minority is expected to opt for private schooling, away from the powers of government, rather than accept total integration.

"The outnumbered whites have grudgingly gone along with integration until now," the *Wall Street Journal* reports from Holmes County, "but with the federal government trying to effect widespread integration, the prospect of white children attending predominantly black schools arises. And few here doubt the outcome: The whites will withdraw into an already flourishing private school system, abandoning the public schools to the blacks."

The newspaper went on to report that when Holmes County schools were first ordered integrated four years ago, close to 50 per cent of the white public school students were placed in private schools. This left a public school population that was 85 per cent black and led to the creation of three private schools, for whites only. No establishment of a fourth private institution is in the offing.

As the country's public schools are now set up, with each school containing grades one through twelve, the white parents in a community can send all their children to a single school. This has resulted in some schools having as high as a 75 per cent white enrollment, while a neighboring school may be all black.

Under the court's recent decision this system must be broken up so that all students in grades one through six go to the same school, seven to twelfth graders going to another. "Whites here have adapted surprisingly well to the integration of the formerly all-white school," reports the *Journal*, "but the idea of sending their children to the Negro school is something else."

Now most white parents with children still in public schools are expected to pull them out and put them in private institutions. Their white teachers will follow them—as they have in the past—and the quality of learning in the black schools will further deteriorate.

The public school system in Holmes County will then be more segregated than ever and the education value will be worse.

Communist-Infiltrated 'New Mobe'

Liberal columnists Evans and Novak, two of the most widely read journalists in the Nation's Capital, have finally said what *Human Events* has been trying to get across to liberals for the past several months: that the peace demonstrations are a tool of Communists and revolutionaries. So far as can be determined, they are the only liberal columnists of weight who have forthrightly said so.

Most of the Eastern press, particularly the New York *Times* and the Washington *Post*, have ignored or covered up the Communist infiltration of the peace movement. Evans and Novak, however, finally faced up to the fact and reported last week that the tens of thousands of well-meaning war protesters converging on Washington were "joining a demonstration planned since summer by advocates of violent revolution in the U.S. who openly support Communist forces in Viet Nam."

The columnists also detailed the close connection between the demonstration leaders and Hanoi. Ron Young, a member of the New Mobe steering committee, for instance, "journeyed to Stockholm October 11-12 for a meeting attended by representatives of the North Viet Nam government and the Viet Cong. Reporting on plans for November 15, Young urged a worldwide propaganda campaign to boost the demonstrations."

• Reports from South Viet Nam last week revealed that Communist troops had stepped up the fighting in order to "support" the anti-war demonstrations in the U.S. Writing from Saigon, Scripps-Howard journalist Don Tate commented: "Just how closely the Communists seem to be keying their current battlefield activity in Viet Nam to anti-war activity in the U.S. is reflected in this document taken from the body of a dead Viet Cong found east of here, which stated in part:

". . .in support of the upcoming struggle of the American people for. . .withdrawal of American troops from South Viet Nam, we [Viet Cong] are to launch intensive attacks on the enemy November 14 and 15. . .we are to carry out annihilation attacks. . . ." Even the New York *Times* ran a front-page story on the same subject with the subhead stating: "New Assaults in Vietnam Are Expected to Coincide With Antiwar Rallies in U.S."

• Hanoi Radio named Washington author and historian Richard J. Barnet as a participant in a meeting in North Viet Nam for the purpose of supporting "massive [American] demonstrations against the U.S. aggression in Viet Nam." Barnet, who served in the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency during the Kennedy Administration, is co-director, with Marcus Raskin, of the tax-exempt Institute for Policy Studies, a radical think-tank in Washington. (For more on IPS, see *Human Events,* October 25, page 8.)

Ambassador W. Averell Harriman, former U.S. negotiator at the Paris Peace talks, extends an arm to the shoulder of Sam Brown, chief co-ordinator of the Viet Nam Moratorium, as they met at a Washington dinner where Harriman criticized President Nixon for his "rigidity" in negotiating an end to the war. Brown has told New York City's Metromedia television commentator Dr. Martin Abend that he favors a Viet Cong victory. Bernard Rapoport, center, is finance chairman for the Businessmen's Education Fund, host organization for the dinner.

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The Right to Talk Back

By MORRIE RYSKIND

The claim of kings to rule by divine right has no validity today, and into the discard with it has gone the corollary crime of lese majeste. Yet the dictum has not altogether vanished; its option has been picked up by our Liberal-Intellectual complex.

It confers on this elite carte blanche to attack non-members with all the ferocity of Torquemada in search of a heretic. This includes the castigation of the accused's morals, mores and dubious antecedents even on hearsay evidence—a perquisite known as the right of free speech.

Should the accused, however, attempt to retort in kind, he becomes guilty of the worst crime of all—lese majesty. It is then that the heavy hand of the complex really comes down on him. He may not go to the stake, but his fate may be even more drastic. Gore Vidal may assail him on some TV talk-show.

Take Spiro Agnew. He (like the Administration he represents) has been called war-monger, imperialist, killer of innocent babes and racist, not to say a dumb Greek. When he lashed back at the critics by saying, in effect, "Nuts! Look who's talking!" he only compounded his felony. Such shocking name-calling, as the Democratic national chairman put it, can only divide a nation.

Still, as I see it, anyone Sen. Cranston (D.-Calif.), Dr. Spock, Gore Vidal and Wayne Morse attack can't be all bad. I admire the Veep for sticking to his guns and not recanting—and hereby line up with him. I, too, have said some nasty things about nasty people—and damned if I recant.

Thus, a reader deems me unfair to Dr. Timothy Leary and says if I read his writings more carefully, I'll find genuine merit in them. Sorry—but ixnay! Whatever Dr. Leary's brilliance, he has been a potent factor in propagating the delights of marijuana and LSD. And it is my stubborn opinion—especially when young Americans die by the hundreds each month while on "trips"—that Leary is an enemy of society.

And a teacher at Tulsa U. protests my "thoughtless categorizing of LeRoi Jones as an obscene playwright." She grants that his work abounds with ghetto profanity, including one particularly shocking expletive which I, for one, had never heard before.

But she quotes a black activist to the effect that "nigger" is a far worse obscenity.

She argues the verbiage has a thematic purpose. "Despite the great strides toward racial equality, a black American, however well-educated, however decent and dignified his behavior, faces the constant threat of violence and hatred. The situation is so obscene that only the utmost obscenity can express it. Anyone who denies this does not know any black people or is blind to the facts.

"That's what LeRoi Jones is all about. Hatred in quantities perhaps, but, for the perceptive, love pulses steadily beneath the obscenity."

With all deference to your obvious sincerity, teacher, I disagree. I've read four of Jones' short plays and found nothing but blind hatred in them, with nothing suggesting love unless his passion for ridding the world of Whitey can be so classified. By that standard, underneath Hitler's pleas for the extermination of the Jews, he really loved them.

Additionally, there is Jones' own record of violence in several places, notably during the Newark riots. Indeed, he is one of the reasons why in Newark today no one, white or black, rests easily.

The Negroes I know and can claim some friendship with seem to me to have the same basic convictions and attitudes I have—and none use the Jones vocabulary. Such violence and hatred as they fear stems not from Whitey but from black activists like Jones. I know of a Negro teacher who hopes to be shifted from her school, predominantly black, because most of the kids there have fallen for the Black Panther philosophy.

As for that "most obscene term," it is rarely heard any more. But it was used recently by a black activist, running for office in upstate California, who referred contemptuously to his opponent, also colored, as an "Uncle Tom Nigger."

I believe, in short, that I told it "like it is"—and therefore will not recant. Move over, Spiro.

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Nixon Reaffirms Right to Work

From the Richmond *News Leader*

Recently President Nixon issued a forceful reaffirmation of federal employes' right to work through his Executive Order 11491. This far-reaching executive order represents a clear-cut defeat for labor union interests who would like nothing better than to have all federal employes subject to their command.

In blunt language, the executive order declares, "Each employe of the executive branch of the federal government has the right, freely and without fear of penalty or reprisal, to form, join and assist a labor organization or to refrain from any such activity, and each employe shall be protected in the exercise of this right."

This language is even more explicit than the language contained in President Kennedy's 1962 executive order that recognized a federal employe's right to refrain; it clearly establishes the right of a federal employe to join, or to refrain from joining, a union.

President Nixon did not stop at reaffirmation of the right to refrain for federal employes. His executive order also requires government employe unions to disclose financial records fully, in the same manner now required of unions in the private sector. The order also forbids agency shop agreements: No agreements shall "require an employe to become or to remain a member of a labor organization or to pay money to the organization except pursuant to a voluntary, written authorization by a member for the payment of dues through payroll deductions."

There is much more. The order provides methods for resolving agency-union contract negotiation impasses. Union elections must be by secret ballot. A Federal Labor Relations Council will act as a central authority to administer the new program. The means of granting official recognition for government employes' labor unions will be changed; after Oct. 1, 1970, unions will be entitled to exclusive recognition by the government only if a majority of eligible employes approve.

The President's executive order gives fresh vigor to the right-to-work principle now recognized by 19 states, by endorsing the concept that no one should have to join a union, or to pay union dues, to hold a job. Had Mr. Nixon insisted on agency shop agreements, or on compulsory unionization, millions of federal employes would have been thrown to the union wolves.

But good sense prevailed in the White House, and now federal employes no longer need fear that their right to refrain might be abrogated by executive decree. Mr. Nixon's executive order does much to reinforce the right-to-work forces whose numbers grow greater day by day.

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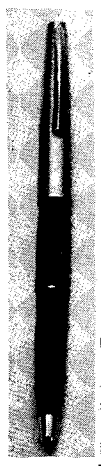

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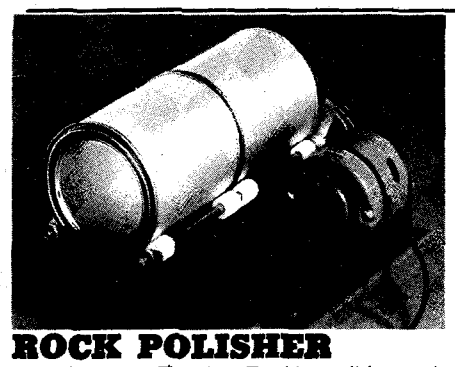

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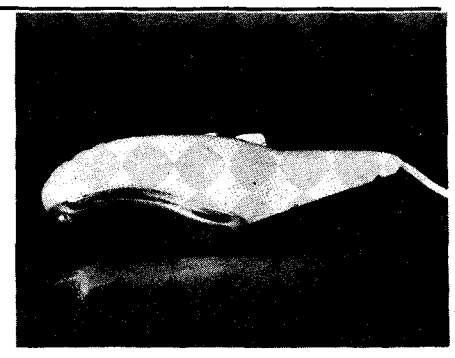

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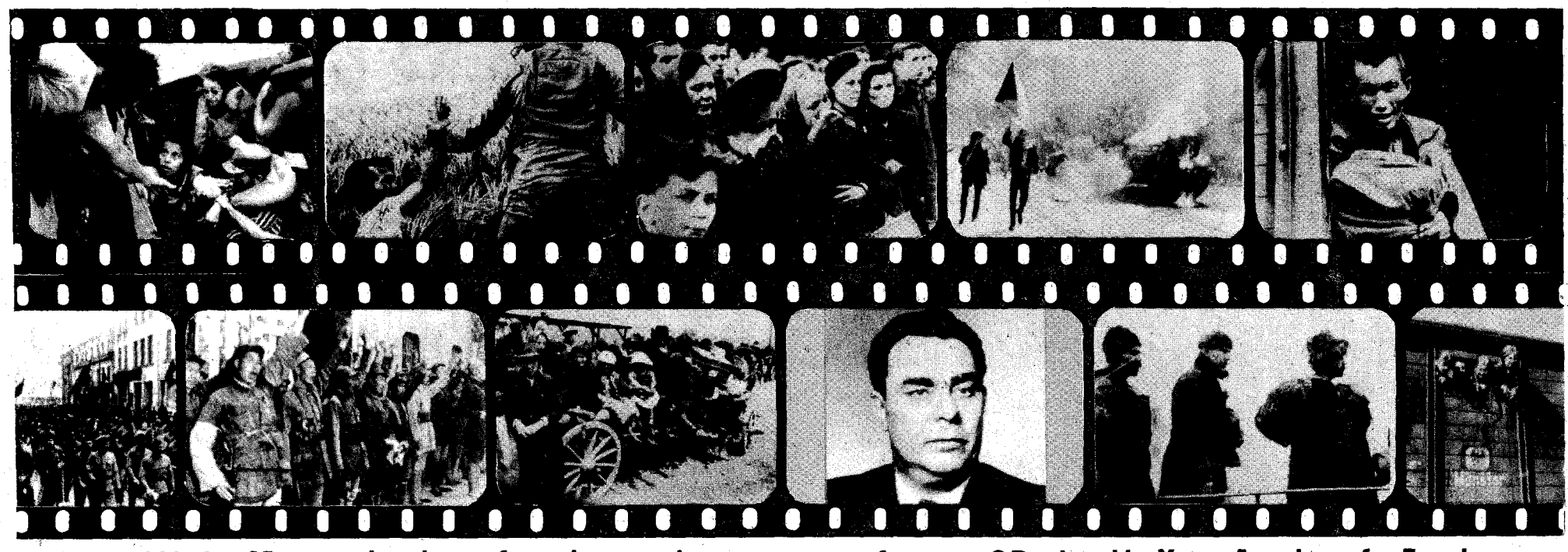

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"Tyranny!" documents Communism's record of turning class against class, man against god, children against parents, the masses against the minorities and the minorities against society—its legacy of horror and hate designed to destroy the very meaning of law, order, justice and truth.

In the opinion of some alleged "experts," Communism is mellowing and has abandoned its goal of world domination. To present the truth to the American public, Young Americans for Freedom sponsored International Communism on Trial and subsequently commissioned the production of this important new film.

What is Communism?

Ask the people of Czechoslovakia, who tried in August, 1968, to open ever so slightly the door to freedom—and were brutally cut down by Soviet tanks. Ask the young Czechs who gathered in Wenceslas Square in August, 1969, and were murdered because they shouted "Gestapo!"

Ask Cardinal Mindszenty, who rather than accept asylum, has remained in the U.S. embassy in Budapest since 1956, a symbol of Hungarian resistance to Soviet oppression.

Ask the parents of Newcomb Mott, the young American vacationing in Scandinavia in 1965, who inadvertently crossed a remote stretch of border between Russia and Norway, only to be arrested, tried, convicted and sentenced . . . and then murdered enroute to one of Soviet Russia's concentration camps.

Ask the one half million Cubans who have fled Fidel Castro's "paradise" since he came to power 10 years ago.

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Perkins' District Does Well From OEO; Foreign Aid Still Faces Rough Sledding

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

For Rep. Carl Perkins (D.-Ky.), chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, vigorously defending the scandal-riddled anti-poverty program and doing everything possible to continue it unchanged for two more years, is strictly a case of self-interest and feathering his political nest.

Many more millions in anti-poverty funds have been bestowed on his congressional district than on any other in Kentucky.

In the five years the program has been in operation, Perkins' district, the 7th, in eastern Kentucky, has gotten more than $72 million out of a total of upwards of $251 million for the whole state. Closest to this remarkable record is the 5th district, which has two Job Corps centers, that has received only $41.361 million.

It is a legitimate assumption that Perkins' being head of the Education and Labor Committee, which handles anti-poverty legislation, has a lot to do with his largely rural district being favored so signally. Certainly this factor must have carried decisive weight in the Democratic Johnson Administration—and apparently Perkins is counting on getting the same kind of favored treatment in the Nixon Administration from the way he is adamantly protecting the Office of Economic Opportunity from being subjected to critical testimony from state and local officials throughout the country.

Foremost among them is Gov. Louie Nunn of Kentucky.

For weeks Nunn has been strenuously trying to get a hearing before the Education and Labor Committee to air numerous complaints against OEO. Following is an illustration:

Rep. Carl Perkins, whose district has received heavy funding from OEO, wants to continue the agency's high budget.

"Before OEO," the Kentucky state executive told a bipartisan group of committeemen, "one of our counties had 3,160 on relief. In the last several years, OEO has put around $10 million into that county—to 'eliminate poverty,' so they said. That county now has 6,500 on public welfare. I contend we cannot afford that kind of 'poverty elimination'."

Nunn's efforts to appear before Perkins' committee have been actively supported by influential committeemen—Representatives William Scherle (R.-Iowa), Edith Green (Ore.), second-ranking Democrat, and Albert Quie (Minn.), second-ranking Republican.

Perkins flatly balked. Finally, Scherle bluntly raised the issue on the floor of the full House.

"There are governors, state attorneys general and state auditors who have repeatedly said they want an opportunity to be heard by the committee," he said. "There have been hearings, but all the testimony was from officials of OEO. Naturally, it was all favorable. There was not a single witness invited to testify against OEO, or anyone outside of the 'establishment'."

Under this public prodding, Perkins finally made a concession—of sorts. He indicated willingness to allow critics and opponents to testify—after the pending multi-billion-dollar bill to continue OEO unchanged for two more years is reported to the House for consideration.

"You can then bring as many governors and attorneys general before the committee as you like," Perkins said. "If they have constructive suggestions, the bill may be amended when it is taken up on the floor of the House."

"That's comparable," retorted Scherle acidly, "to locking the barn door after the horse is gone. I say it is reprehensible to mark up a bill that would cost the taxpayers around $4.5 billion in the next two years without giving governors and attorneys general the chance to discuss the anti-poverty program and make recommendations and suggestions to improve it and clean it up.

"Denying the right of duly authorized officials to testify before a committee on legislation that they will have to administer and enforce is a denial of basic American principles."

The extent to which Rep. Perkins' chairmanship has paid off handsomely for his district, and him politically, is graphically shown in the box on this page.

It also explains why Gov. Nunn is so outraged at OEO and its handling of anti-poverty funds.

Perkins' 7th district is largely rural with no big cities. Ashland, the largest, is around 40,000. Its main industry is a sizable oil plant.

Yet the adjoining 6th district, with a slightly larger population, got only one-tenth in anti-poverty funds as the 7th. Also, the 6th, with 266,427 poor, got only $53 per capita as against $294 for the 7th with 238,120 poor.

That $294 per capita for Perkins' district is one of the highest in the entire U.S. It is almost four times the national average. That average is $76.73 for an over-all total of 25,389,000 "poor" in the U.S.

The new multi-billion-dollar OEO authorization bill has been pending in the Education and Labor Committee since February. Originally, Perkins sponsored a measure to extend the anti-poverty program for five more years for a total outlay of $10.5 billion.

He is now supporting the Administration's bill for a two-year extension with an annual budget of $2.18 billion. Last year Congress voted only $1.948 billion for the current fiscal year.

There is widespread bipartisan opposition to the OEO in the House. A number of restrictive amendments are certain to be written into the anti-poverty legislation when it is taken up by the chamber.

A graphic illustration of the reason for the strong bipartisan opposition in the House to OEO was the discovery of an attempt by a high-paid official to dish out a juicy contract to a friend.

He proposed to give this friend a $62,000 "unadvertised, noncompetitive" contract to produce a "new OEO symbol and redesign its literature."

Why the anti-poverty agency needed a new symbol and its letterhead and other material had to be remodeled is known only to the OEO official. Apparently Director Donald Rumsfeld was unaware of the affair until it was brought to light.

It was quickly squelched, but the OEO official is still on the payroll at $32,840.

This questionable incident is succinctly detailed in a report by Rep. William Scherle, an outspoken critic of OEO who will lead the fight against it when the issue reaches the full House. Following is what he has to say:

"The OEO's chief public relations officer attempted to award a former co-worker, and his personal friend, with a $62,000 contract for the creation of a 'new' OEO symbol and redesign of its literature—even though OEO has long employed its own personnel to perform such work, including one of the federal government's most talented graphics artists.

"When this affair was uncovered, the deal was suddenly called off—not, however, until the official's 'friend' was reportedly some $5,000 richer by a design of a logotype consisting of the letters 'OEO.'

★ ★ ★

The $2.19-billion foreign aid authorization bill faces rough sledding when it is taken up in the House later this month.

A number of amendments already are being drafted by bipartisan opponents to drastically slash major spending provisions. The prospects are strong that some of them will be approved.

Last year Congress voted $1.76 billion for foreign aid—a record low in the two-decade history of this program. This total was approximately $1 billion less than the amount recommended by President Johnson. It was also several hundred million dollars under the $1.97-billion authorization bill.

Bipartisan hostility to continued large-scale foreign aid spending is even stronger in this Congress than in the last. That is clearly shown by the following:

- The indifferent attitude in the House and Senate towards this legislation. It has been pending in both chambers since early last spring. Two weeks ago the House Foreign Affairs Committee finally reported out a $2.19-billion authorization bill. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is waiting until the House disposes of the measure before doing anything about it.
- President Nixon recommended a foreign aid budget of $2.58 billion. But the House committee cut approximately $400 million from that figure—and it's virtually certain more will be lopped off before Congress is through with the legislation.
- Amendments designed to do that already are definitely assured when the authorization measure is taken up by the full House. These amendments will be sponsored by both Republicans and Democrats—in some instances by members of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Ohio Democrat Wayne Hays is among those who want to pare foreign aid even further.

Foremost among them are Representatives Clement Zablocki (Wis.) and Wayne Hays (Ohio), second and third-ranking Democrats, and H. R. Gross (Iowa), a senior Republican.

Hays has an amendment for an across-the-board ceiling on foreign aid spending tied directly to the limitation President Nixon has imposed on spending for highways and other construction. Such spending was restricted to 75 per cent of the funds voted by Congress.

It is Hays' caustic contention that "what is good enough for the U.S. is good enough for foreign countries."

Rep. Gross, a long and vigorous foe of foreign aid spending, will offer amendments to cut other spending provisions. One of them calls for some $400 million for so-called "supporting assistance" to foreign countries—that is, funds to enable them to balance their budgets.

Says Gross, "It doesn't make sense for us to go deeper into debt at high interest rates to provide money for other countries to balance their budgets when we can't balance our own. That's utterly absurd, and that sort of incoherence can't be tolerated any longer."

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How Perkins' 7th CD Fares in Poverty Funds

Congressional District	Population	Total OEO Allocation	Per Capita Poor
1	437,135	$ 8,450,161	$ 45
2	421,346	6,655,714	37
3*	432,494	21,585,775	203
4	457,688	3,937,740	38
5**	417,544	41,361,883	161
6	459,045	7,978,632	53
7	446,187	72,705,668	294

**Includes Louisville, largest city in state with 400,000 population and considerable industry and transportation.*

***With two Job Corps centers.*

(Not included in the allocation totals is more than $40 million for Job Corps centers and other OEO operations.)

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All age groups were represented at Washington Monument rally.

Rep. Donald (Buz) Lukens (R.-Ohio) gives victory sign to Veterans Day crowd.

The 'Silent Majority' Speaks Out on Veterans Day

Tuesday, November 11, was Veterans Day. But this year it was Veterans Day with a difference. This year the customary parading survivors of military campaigns past had company, as thousands upon thousands of otherwise "silent" Americans turned out to honor America's war dead and to demonstrate their support of President Nixon's policy in bringing peace to Viet Nam. . .and, by implication at least, to evidence their rejection of the November 13-15 anti-Viet Nam Moratorium activities.

The country had seen nothing quite like it in some time. In major cities such as Washington and in small towns like Ashland, Ky., middle America honored their nation and swore support of their President. There were the usual flags, bunting, speeches, posters and proclamations, but there was more:

The silent, undemonstrative presence of thousands of persons who probably would have rather been home by the fireside on that chill fall day but whose principles and patriotism caused them to turn out as evidence of dissent from the dissenters who would be pouring out a few days later.

• In Washington, D.C., some 10,000 persons came to the grounds of the Washington Monument to hear two hours of music and speeches by members of Congress. Among the Capitol Hill contingent were Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.), Representatives Samuel Stratton (D.-N.Y.), John Buchanan (R.-Ala.), John Marsh (D.-Va.), Olin Teague (D.-Tex.), Donald (Buz) Lukens (R.-Ohio) and the rally's keynote speaker, Sen. John Tower (R.-Tex.).

"I've visited the field hospitals," said Tower. "I've seen the life ebbing from their bodies. I want this war to end as much as anyone. But I want this war to be the *last* one we have to fight."

Emphasizing "peace with freedom for South Viet Nam," the Texas Republican called the U.S. warrior in Southeast Asia "America's greatest fighting man. He fights with his guts and intelligence. He does more than he's asked. But he's a little bit puzzled by the attitude of some people in public life who should know better. So let's let him know without a doubt that those who have died have not died in vain, that we believe in them. . . ."

In the audience were conservative Republicans as well as liberal Democrats and supporters of George Wallace. Not everyone was a down-the-line backer of Richard Nixon, but everyone thought the President should be allowed to pursue his quest for peace in Viet Nam without being subjected to partisan brickbats and the browbeatings of the radical minority. "There comes a time," one rally participant told a reporter, "when you have to do something more than just swear under your breath."

When the Washington Monument rally concluded in late afternoon, the throng sang "God Bless America" and wound its way back to the fireside. "The silent majority has become very vocal indeed," Sen. Tower observed.

• In Manchester, N.H., a group of housewives decided among themselves to demonstrate their support of President Nixon by marching alongside the male war veterans in the city's traditional parade. The ladies called themselves the "Silent Majority Division."

• In New York City some 5,000 persons braved cold weather to turn out for the annual Fifth Avenue Veterans Day parade, capped by an honor guard's rifle salute, the playing of taps and the laying of wreaths commemorating the war dead at the Eternal Light in Madison Square. There followed speeches by the veterans of five American wars, short addresses calling the nation to unity behind the President.

"The time has now come to put aside partisan politics," said New York County American Legion Commander Stanley Nason, "or a partisan desire for vindication of a previous position or viewpoint and give the man the support he has asked for. . . .I remind you that we elected him—we put him on the spot and we told him to find a solution to the dilemma. Now he tells us he has a solution—and the solution requires our unity behind him. We must now give him the chance to do the job we elected him to do."

As the war veterans marched up the city's traditional Fifth Avenue parade route they were suddenly showered with bits of paper and long streamers. It was the first time in the memory of parade officials that the tramping vets were greeted with this type of spontaneous reception, usually reserved for returning astronauts and victorious sports teams.

"I'm here to show our loyalty for the men in Viet Nam," said one spectator in the Manhattan parade. "We're behind the President. Some people are afraid to say it. . .but we want to show them that there's a lot more people behind the President than the Moratorium people think." The speaker was Constance Laffran of Old Bridge, N.J., and she is 13 years old.

• In Ashland, Ky., four teams of high school boys ran relays over 25-mile routes, carrying the American flag from neighboring towns to the Eternal Light in Ashland. "It was a beautiful sight, as they laid those flags down in front of the flame," said one witness.

• In Pittsburgh the Veterans' Day parade was opened to ordinary citizens for the first time in history and a throng of 100,000 civilians answered the call to demonstrate their allegiance and support of President Nixon. Banners with such slogans as "Don't Reason With Treason" were common, and an active contingent at the rear of the parade took up the chant: "Hey, Hey, USA!"

The "star" of the Steel City activities was Gen. William Westmoreland, former commander of U.S. troops in South Viet Nam and now the Army's Chief of Staff. Thousands of marchers reached up to grasp the general's hand as they passed the reviewing stand and later applauded his speech in which he said that anti-Viet Nam protests "tend to confuse Hanoi as to our national will."

It was, said Pittsburgh police officials, the largest and most enthusiastic Veterans Day turnout they could recall.

• In Ridgewood, N.J., a group of five men and one woman spent the night in tents nearby the city's memorial to the war dead. "We are just honoring our flag," said one of the demonstrators.

• At Arlington Cemetery's Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, where, for the first time in recent years, all the seats had been spoken for, the traditional wreath-laying ceremony was performed by Deputy Secretary of Defense David Packard. Hundreds of flag-bearing citizens watched as the wreath was solemnly laid and cannon sounded 18 volleys for the millions of American soldiers who have given their lives for their country.

When the cannon echo had died, U.S. Administrator of Veterans Affairs Donald Johnson, representing President Nixon, told the crowd that "it is gratifying, indeed inspiring, to note that today thousands of Americans are speaking up proudly, proclaiming their unashamed love of America. . . ."

Critics of the current war, said Johnson, "may think or would have others think that they alone understand and abhor the suffering and savagery of the war. To them I say now that they do an injustice to America's 40 million veterans living and dead.

"Our disabled veterans would welcome a moratorium in the pain and illness and injuries they now endure, but they answered freedom's call because they understood freedom's cost."

• On college campuses across the country—from Brooklyn College to UCLA—Young Americans for Freedom sponsored counter-Moratorium activities on Veterans Day and the days following. These included wearing of red, white and blue armbands, conducting teach-ins supporting President Nixon, distributing "Tell It to Hanoi" petitions, organizing marches and rallies.

• In Baltimore demonstrations of support for President Nixon began early on Veterans Day, when thousands of workers turned on their auto headlights while going to their jobs. The local veterans' groups had encouraged this method of demonstration and were overwhelmed by the response, as innumerable taxis, private autos, police wagons, city buses and garbage trucks switched on their headlights during the daylight hours.

As the day's celebrations continued, the cannon on the historic frigate *Constellation* boomed a 21-gun salute, members of the state Naval Militia tolled the 160-year-old bell atop the city's Lexington Market, and thousands of citizens turned out in the evening at the War Memorial building to watch a military drill and listen to speeches by local notables.

Leading off the occasion, Rep. Edward Garmatz (D.-Md.) proclaimed: "I'll say this: Though President Nixon was not my choice, he is my President and I will support him." City Comptroller Hyman Pressman followed up by declaring, "Let Washington know that we commend them for not giving in to the threat of violence by those who openly advocate the overthrow of this government."

Continued on page 12

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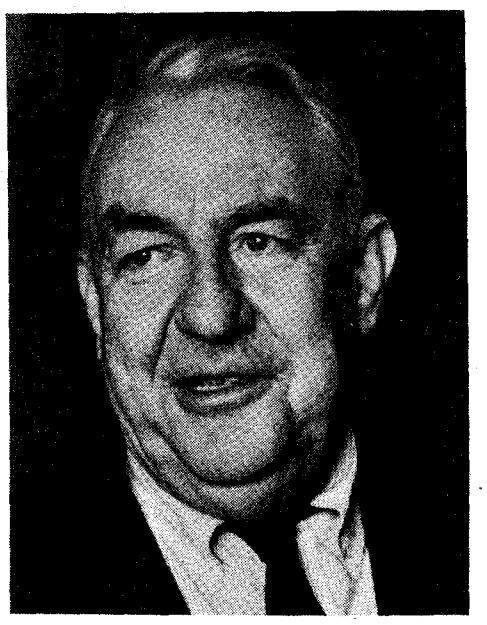

Atty. Gen. John Mitchell, left, is all for the current preventive detention of potential criminal repeaters. Strict constitutionalist Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.) disagrees, but the galloping crime wave may well decide the issue.

Bail Reform: Who's Right?

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Ordinarily in this town, a man takes sides instantly, as a matter of partisan instincts. You are for the ABM, or against it. You are for Haynsworth, or against him. You line up like football teams on gun control, open housing, and the supersonic transport plane. This is the way the game is played, and nobody loves a middle-roader.

Yet an issue is developing these days on Capitol Hill that requires a suspension of the rules. On the question of further bail reform—more specifically, on the tough question of "preventive detention"—the merits are so divided, and the opposing arguments so highly persuasive, that usually decisive men are beset by doubts.

The issue may sound legalistic. It isn't. We are concerned here with certain rights of the individual that go back at least to Magna Carta; and we are equally concerned with certain rights of society that go back to the dawn of man. These misty concepts come down to the point of a pistol, every night in Washington, when a man who is free on bail commits a new crime of murder, robbery, or rape.

The question is, what should be done about it? Two of the most respected conservatives in Washington, Sen. Sam Ervin of North Carolina, and Atty. Gen. John Mitchell, have taken positions diametrically opposed. Mitchell is dead set on a new plan of preventive detention in particular cases; he regards it as "the heart of bail reform." Ervin is just as dead set against the plan; he regards preventive detention as a "flagrant violation of due process that smacks of a police state rather than a democracy under law."

Ervin attempts to minimize the seriousness of the problem by citing figures to show that "only about 4 per cent of those released on bail actually commit crimes while awaiting trial."

The figures, based on total offenses, are misleading. In the category of serious crimes—crimes of violence—the picture is alarming. Of 345 persons indicted for robbery in Washington last year, and released on bail prior to trial, 242 were rearrested while on bail. Mitchell is on sound ground when he insists that society has a right to be protected from professional criminals who treat their bail with contempt.

The attorney general is pressing hard for amendments to the 1966 Bail Reform Act that would protect law-abiding persons from at least some of the savages who have made of this town a jungle. His plan would apply principally to persons arrested for robbery, burglary, rape, arson, and drug sales, especially if they were out on bail when arrested or had been convicted of such an offense within the past 10 years.

In such cases a federal judge could entertain a motion for preventive detention pending trial. A full-scale evidentiary and adversary proceeding would be held. And if the judge found "a substantial probability of the defendant's ultimate conviction," bail would be denied and the defendant would be locked up for at least 60 days.

The prospect horrifies Sen. Ervin. The North Carolinian is no weepeasy liberal; he is a conservative's conservative, a former judge, a dedicated constitutionalist. He makes the counter-argument that Mitchell's plan violates the most fundamental precepts of our system of justice, that a man is presumed innocent until proved guilty. What becomes of due process when a human being can be imprisoned on a finding of "substantial probability"?

Ervin makes other solid points. The greatest single defect in our system of criminal justice today is delay. Court dockets are clogged, penal facilities overcrowded. To add the burden of "full-scale evidentiary proceedings" on motions for pre-trial detention could serve only to make the delays more prolonged. Every serious case would demand not one trial, but two.

Who has the better argument? Tentatively, uncertainly, I incline toward Ervin's side. But here in Washington, crimes of violence have reached appalling levels. In this critical situation, Mitchell may be right. It's not easy, this time, to take sides.

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CONTROLLING GALBRAITH—Rep. Ben Blackburn (R.-Ga.) recently sent the following letter to Leon Shull, national director of the Americans for Democratic Action. "Dear Mr. Shull: I appreciate your bringing to my attention the publication, *How to Control the Military* by that prolific verbalist, John Kenneth Galbraith. I am sure this work will serve as a beacon to many Americans in future hours of darkness. Let me suggest, however, that you would do at least an equal service to the nation if you commissioned someone to begin a work on *How to Control John Kenneth Galbraith*. Let me suggest the editors of *Mad* magazine for this excursion into fantasy, since their writing style will quickly adapt to the mental gyrations of their subject."

New TV Arithmetic

By ALICE WIDENER

Faced with indisputable facts about American majority support of President Nixon's policy on the Viet Nam war, several of his very vocal opponents refuse to acknowledge them. A flagrant case of such non-recognition occurred on the Huntley-Brinkley newscast, NBC, November 4. So many listeners in New York City and Washington, D.C. telephoned me to voice their objections after the show that I obtained a transcript of it to make sure what was said by David Brinkley, because aired words are so often gone with the wind.

"Today," said Mr. Brinkley, "we have tried to find, as far as it could be done, a fair sample of the public reaction. . .in various parts of the country, concentrating on those areas where the silent majority, if it exists, is most likely to be found. And we asked a number of people what they thought of the [President's] speech and while the result may not be a precisely accurate cross-section of the population, it is, nevertheless, interesting."

Polled by Huntley-Brinkley in the United States were 13 men and four women. Among them, one man hadn't heard the President and had no opinion. Among the others, two women were in favor of him and two were not; among the men, one favored stronger action against North Viet Nam, including more bombing; eight men strongly supported the President; only two men were critical. Therefore, the total score shows that among the 17 persons polled by Huntley-Brinkley here at home, only four were against Nixon. Omitting the man with no opinion, the score shows that only four out of 16 persons opposed the President's policy on Viet Nam; or, to put it another way, 75 per cent of those polled supported Nixon.

That is just about the same big majority found by the Gallup Poll (77 per cent).

Yet here is how David Brinkley ended his "news" report on November 4: "In Viet Nam, as in this country, the reaction was divided somewhere close to down the middle, so wherever the majority lies and however big a majority it may be, all the events and reactions of today suggested this country was more sharply and more angrily divided now than it was yesterday [before President Nixon's speech on Viet Nam] at this time. Goodnight, for NBC News."

And goodnight to any kind of fairness to Nixon by David Brinkley on NBC News!

If Mr. Brinkley considers an American majority of 75 per cent in favor of the President to be "somewhere close to down the middle," then it seems that NBC has a new arithmetic of its own that can make the ratio of 75-to-25 come out to 50-50.

Perhaps a blandly smiling, dry-voiced commentator immune from on-the-spot rebuttal can get away with such figuring, but the best interests of the communications media certainly are not served by anyone's succumbing, even momentarily, to the old adage, "Figures don't lie, but liars can figure."

Still more certainly, it is a great disservice to the American people, engaged as we are in a tragic struggle in Viet Nam, to be wrongly and wrongfully characterized on a nationwide TV "news" broadcast as sharply and angrily divided down the middle. The only possible beneficiaries of such distortion are our enemies and ill-wishers.

It seems to me that David Brinkley's remarks on November 4 are a perfect illustration of the kind of biased TV political reporting that a great many Americans are objecting to. As *TV Guide* recently pointed out, biased political broadcasting has become too frequent. Congress and the FCC should take notice.

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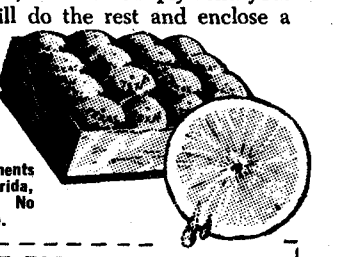

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Continued from Page 1

Agnew Scores TV News Bias

read the same newspapers, and draw their political and social views from the same sources. Worse, they talk constantly to one another, thereby providing artificial reinforcement to their shared viewpoints.

Do they allow their biases to influence the selection and presentation of the news? David Brinkley states, "objectivity is impossible to normal human behavior." Rather, he says, we should strive for "fairness."

Another anchorman on a network news show contends: "You can't expunge all your private convictions just because you sit in a seat like this and a camera starts to stare at you. . . .I think your program has to reflect what your basic feelings are. I'll plead guilty to that."

Less than a week before the 1968 election, this same commentator charged that President Nixon's campaign commitments were no more durable than campaign balloons. He claimed that, were it not for fear of a hostile reaction, Richard Nixon would be giving into, and I quote the commentator, "His natural instinct to smash the enemy with a club or go after him with a meat axe."

Had this slander been made by one political candidate about another, it would have been dismissed by most commentators as a partisan assault. But this attack emanated from the privileged sanctuary of a network studio and therefore had the apparent dignity of an objective statement.

The American people would rightly not tolerate this kind of concentration of power in government. Is it not fair and relevant to question its concentration in the hands of a tiny and closed fraternity of privileged men, elected by no one, and enjoying a monopoly sanctioned and licensed by government?

The views of this fraternity do *not* represent the views of America. That is why such a great gulf existed between how the nation received the President's address—and how the networks reviewed it.

As with other American institutions, perhaps it is time that the networks were made more responsive to the views of the nation and more responsible to the people they serve.

I am not asking for government censorship or any other kind of censorship. I am asking whether a form of censorship already exists when the news that 40 million Americans receive each night is determined by a handful of men responsible only to their corporate employers and filtered through a handful of commentators who admit to their own set of biases.

The questions I am raising here tonight should have been raised by others long ago. They should have been raised by those Americans who have traditionally considered the preservation of freedom of speech and freedom of the press their special provinces of responsibility and concern. They should have been raised by those Americans who share the view of the late Justice Learned Hand that "right conclusions are more likely to be gathered out of a multitude of tongues than through any kind of authoritative selection."

Advocates for the networks have claimed a 1st Amendment right to the same unlimited freedoms held by the great newspapers of America.

The situations are not identical. Where the New York *Times* reaches 800,000 people, NBC reaches 20 times that number with its evening news. Nor can the tremendous impact of seeing television film and hearing commentary be compared with reading the printed page.

A decade ago, before the network news acquired such dominance over public opinion, Walter Lippmann spoke to the issue:

"There is an essential and radical difference," he stated, "between television and printing . . . the three or four competing television stations control virtually all that can be received over the air by ordinary television sets. But, besides the mass-circulation dailies, there are the weeklies, the monthlies, the out-of-town newspapers, and books. If a man does not like his newspaper, he can read another from out of town, or wait for a weekly news magazine. It is not ideal. But it is infinitely better than the situation in television. There, if a man does not like what the networks offer him, all he can do is turn them off, and listen to a phonograph."

"Networks," he stated, "which are few in number, have a virtual monopoly of a whole medium of communication." The newspapers of mass circulation have no monopoly of the medium of print.

"A virtual monopoly of a whole medium of communication" is not something a democratic people should *blithely ignore*.

And we are not going to cut off our television sets and listen to the phonograph because the air waves do not belong to the networks; they belong to the people.

As Justice Byron White wrote in his landmark opinion six months ago, "it is the right of the viewers and listeners, not the right of the broadcasters, which is paramount."

It is argued that this power presents no danger in the hands of those who have used it responsibly.

But as to whether or not the networks have abused the power they enjoy, let us call as our first witnesses, former Vice President Humphrey and the city of Chicago.

According to Theodore H. White, television's intercutting of the film from the streets of Chicago with the "current proceedings on the floor of the convention created the most striking and *false* political picture of 1968—the nomination of a man for the American presidency by the brutality and violence of merciless police."

If we are to believe a recent report of the House Commerce Committee, then television's presentation of the violence in the streets worked an injustice on the reputation of the Chicago police.

According to the committee findings, one network in particular presented "a one-sided picture which in large measure exonerates the demonstrators and protesters." Film of provocations of police that was available never saw the light of day, while the film of the police response which the protesters provoked was shown to millions.

Another network showed virtually the same scene of violence—from three separate angles—without making clear it was the same scene.

While the full report is reticent in drawing conclusions, it is not a document to inspire confidence in the fairness of the network news.

Our knowledge of the impact of network news on the national mind is far from complete. But some early returns are available. Again, we have enough information to raise serious questions about its effect on a democratic society.

Several years ago Fred Friendly, one of the pioneers of network news, wrote that its missing ingredients were "conviction, controversy and a point of view." The networks have compensated with a vengeance.

And in the networks' endless pursuit of controversy, we should ask what is the end value—to enlighten or to profit? What is the end result—to inform or to confuse? How does the on-going exploration for more action, more excitement, more drama, serve our national search for internal peace and stability?

Gresham's law seems to be operating in the network news.

Bad news drives out good news. The irrational is more controversial than the rational. Concurrence can no longer compete with dissent. One minute of Eldridge Cleaver is worth 10 minutes of Roy Wilkins. The labor crisis settled at the negotiating table is nothing compared to the confrontation that results in a strike—or, better yet, violence along the picket line. Normality has become the nemesis of the evening news.

The upshot of all this controversy is that a narrow and distorted picture of America often emerges from the televised news. A single dramatic piece of the mosaic becomes, in the minds of millions, the whole picture. The American who relies upon television for his news might conclude that the majority of American students are embittered radicals, that the majority of black Americans feel no regard for their country; that violence and lawlessness are the rule, rather than the exception, on the American campus. None of these conclusions is true.

Television may have destroyed the old stereotypes—but has it not created new ones in their place?

What has this passionate pursuit of "controversy" done to the politics of progress through logical compromise, essential to the functioning of a democratic society?

The members of Congress or the Senate who follow their principles and philosophy quietly in a spirit of compromise are unknown to many Americans—while the loudest and most extreme dissenters on every issue are known to every man in the street.

How many marches and demonstrations would we have if the marchers did not know that the ever-faithful TV cameras would be there to record their antics for the next news show?

We have heard demands that senators and congressmen and judges make known all their financial connections—so that the public will know who and what influences their decisions or votes. Strong arguments can be made for that view. But when a single commentator or producer, night after night, determines for millions of people how much of each side of a great issue they are going to see and hear, should he not first disclose his personal views on the issue as well?

In this search for excitement and controversy, has more than equal time gone to that minority of Americans who specialize in attacking the United States, its institutions and its citizens?

Tonight, I have raised questions. I have made no attempt to suggest answers. These answers must come from the media men. They are challenged to turn their critical powers on themselves. They are challenged to direct their energy, talent and conviction toward improving the quality and objectivity of news presentation. They are challenged to structure their own civic ethics to relate their great freedom with their great responsibility.

And the people of America are challenged, too—challenged to press for responsible news presentations.

The people can let the networks know that they want their news straight and objective. The people can register their complaints on bias through mail to the networks and phone calls to local stations. This is one case where the people must defend themselves, where the citizen—not government—must be the reformer, where the consumer can be the most effective crusader.

By way of conclusion, let me say that every elected leader in the United States depends on these men of the media. Whether what I have said to you tonight will be heard and seen at all by the nation is not *my* decision; it is not *your* decision; it is *their* decision.

In tomorrow's edition of the Des Moines *Register* you will be able to read a news story detailing what I said tonight; editorial comment will be reserved for the editorial page, where it belongs. Should not the same wall of separation exist between news and comment on the nation's networks?

We would never trust such power over public opinion in the hands of an elected government—it is time we questioned it in the hands of a small and un-elected elite. The great networks have dominated America's airwaves for decades; the people are entitled to a full accounting of their stewardship.

Continued from Page 9

'Silent Majority' Speaks Out

Enthusiasm over the day's activities and significance was so great in Baltimore that a local television station, WBAL, announced a new policy of beginning each day's broadcast with the playing of the National Anthem and a recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance.

• In the Nation's Capital, ex-Navy man President Nixon observed Veterans Day by visiting with wounded Viet Nam veterans at the Washington VA Hospital. When one patient told him "I'm a good Republican," Nixon replied, with a chuckle, "Tell me when you're on the promotion list."

• In Charleston, W. Va., citizens demonstrated their sympathies November 11 by following their popular police chief, Dallas Bias, and a lone drummer boy on a 12-block march through the state's capital city. The stroll was highlighted by a fireworks display and a spontaneous rendering of the National Anthem by the enthusiastic marchers.

Police Chief Bias drew his biggest cheers when he noted that no state officials had accepted invitations to take part in the city's activities. "The only dignitaries here today are you folks," he told his happy listeners.

• In Los Angeles Veterans Day observances were concluded with a gathering in the city's huge Memorial Coloseum, at which Gen. Omar Bradley, the nation's last surviving five-star general, was the featured speaker. "If we, as a nation, lack beliefs we are determined to uphold, then we do not deserve the heritage which is ours," Bradley said. "If we lack the courage to stand firm in our beliefs, then we are unworthy of the sacrifices our veterans have made and are making for us."

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Report Urges Finch to Become Spokesman for Radical Changes

Task force headed by Allen's assistant

By PAUL SCOTT

Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Robert Finch is being urged to become the spokesman in the Nixon Administration for radical changes in the nation's high schools.

An educational task force headed by Gregory R. Anrig, the executive assistant to U.S. Commissioner of Education James E. Allen Jr., wants Finch to seize on the growing violence and unrest in the schools to use the federal government's vast powers to revolutionize the educational system.

The task force's recommendations, which Finch is now reviewing, are contained in a 73-page report on easing tensions in education at all levels. Completed by the Anrig group last June, the report has never been released because of its explosive content.

Members of the House Labor and Education Committee, who have studied its content, say the Anrig report is dynamite, since it in effect advocates that Finch become a spokesman for more "student and militant power" in the nation's high schools.

The controversial report warns that high schools soon will "blow" with a violence that will make recent university disruptions seem "almost trivial" unless the federal government forces changes with massive advice and assistance.

High school troubles are spreading like wildfire, the report charges, because of dehumanization of society, inequitable distribution of wealth, power and prestige, the irrelevancy of the educational establishment, and cultural exclusion.

In the private assessment of one member of the House Labor Committee, the Anrig report parallels in many ways the aims of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the pro-Communist student group now trying to turn high schools into violent play pens for creating a Socialistic society.

The Anrig report, for instance, calls for a vast restructuring of the present educational system to give militant and student groups more of a voice in high schools, stating:

"We must share with all citizens the power it takes to effect relevant changes in their lives. We should not assume unrest will cease without major overhaul of the assumptions and practices, both of content and procedure, in our schools.

"We should not support the educational establishment's desire to maintain current allocations of power and control with schools and universities."

In urging Secretary Finch to assume the leadership role in bringing radical change to the nation's high schools, the Anrig task force proposed that he begin by announcing public positions on a number of controversial educational measures.

The educational reforms called on Finch to support bills of rights for students; black and brown study programs; militant student and community groups seeking to influence educational change, and new educational approaches.

Many of the radical changes in the schools, according to the task force report, can be brought about by the creation of a National Commission on Educational Change.

It was recommended that Finch establish such a commission and staff it with help from foundations and educational experts from outside government. The objective would be to promote radical ideas to meet the demands and needs of today's youth.

The commission, for example, could be used to develop a national policy statement defining the personal and political freedom of high school students, including recognition or right to peaceful dissent.

The latter proposal is expected to receive a cool reception from most of the nation's high school principals and teachers. In recent months they have voiced concern that yielding to student pressures is beginning to erode their authority and jeopardize the effectiveness of schools.

In dealing with high school and college disturbances in the future, Finch was advised by the task force to use the soft shoe approach.

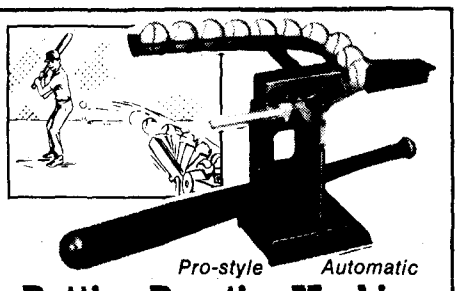
The educational reformers recommended that he avoid supporting what they described as "repressive" legislation in Congress which grew out of the recent violence on college campuses.

The task force also urged that Finch should speak out to show the "forgotten and disfranchised" that someone in high government councils cares about them.

Establishment of an "advocate court" in the Office of Education is recommended to hear innovative and "high-risk" ideas for educational change, including those from militant student and community leaders.

Task force members recommended that Finch should channel large amounts of federal aid into establishing experimental schools, street academies, preparatory schools for graduate study, business-sponsored vocational schools and "think tanks" for the young.

Aides are now drafting several speeches containing these recommendations of the task force for Secretary Finch to deliver. They are to serve as trial balloons to determine whether the time is ripe for Secretary Finch to assume the new role.



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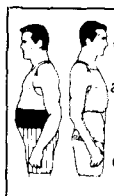

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Words of Caution: 'Watch Willy Brandt'

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

After Libya, who's next?

The examples of the (Dis-) United Arab Republic, of several Latin American republics, of Cambodia, of Somalia, and of India, among others, demonstrate that any country can remain or go neutral, can take aid from, and sell everything it can to, the Soviet Union or to Red China, all without reprisals by Washington, and perhaps without forfeiting eventual military protection by the United States.

Nothing but prompt action by the much criticized colonels prevented "pink" Greek intellectuals from following the pattern. Now Libya, a people that owed its emergence from its traditional penury to the allied countries that saved it from Moscow in 1945 and developed its oil, kicks out pro-Western King Idris, who pulled it off, invites the United States and Britain to remove their air bases from its precious soil and almost surely will share Soviet favor with Nasser.

So much for those Americans who prefer seeing pro-Communist "democracy" imposed on South Viet Nam by Hanoi to incurring Moscow's displeasures by defecting North Viet Nam.

And so, I ask, who's next?

From Washington I hear no answer. But, listening, French fashion, to my "little finger," I seem to hear three words:

"Watch Willy Brandt!"

"But," a skeptical reader may exclaim, "hasn't Germany since 1949 been a faithful ally of the United States? Doesn't the new German chancellor favor NATO and the Common Market?"

It has. He does. But unlike his Christian Democratic predecessors, Brandt and his Free Democratic foreign minister, Walter Scheel, are far more passionate "bridge-builders to the East." They seek "peace" and "closer relations" not only with the captive Communist countries like Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, but with their Soviet captor. Moreover, they seem prepared drastically to soften their predecessors' policy toward captive East Germany.

Not, be it said, because Brandt still nourishes any of that softness for communism which characterized him when, as Herbert Frahm the newsman, he covered the Republican side of the Spanish Civil War. As a refugee guerrilla against the Nazis in Norway in World War II, he acquired faith in democracy, a charming Norwegian wife, and a new name.

Unhappily, as his recent conduct as foreign minister demonstrated, he also became converted to the kind of humanistic pacifism that characterizes Social Democrats everywhere.

The trouble will be that many Germans, who feel that their country should begin to play a "political role" worthy of its economic and technological achievement, will support Brandt in generous acts like ratifying the nuclear nonproliferation treaty which Moscow wished on Washington, and through Washington, on most of the other NATO countries.

Such an act will almost surely further weaken NATO. This once proud and effective organization has been languishing ever since we Americans refused to assist France in obtaining nuclear weapons and induced the members to abandon the Dulles doctrine of "massive retaliation" (immediate nuclear response to a Soviet land attack on West Europe) for the Taylor doctrine of "graduated deterrence" which will allow the attacker to occupy a considerable chunk of Germany before being stopped.

What NATO needs, if it is to continue to be an effective deterrent to Communist aggression, both direct and indirect, is better balanced military power and a common worldwide policy. This means more, not fewer, nuclear weapons in the possession of Europe.

Until this is assured, the German Federal Republic has every right not to promise never to acquire that arm upon which in the last analysis its defense depends. The fact that it may do so, if abandoned by America, Britain and France, is the strongest existing argument for real nuclear disarmament on the part of all countries, and chiefly of the Soviet Union. For not until

Will Chancellor Willy Brandt try to play both Cold War sides against the middle to get the best deal for Germany?

Moscow feels itself hopelessly overshadowed in the military field will it cease simultaneously pushing its indirect aggression and trying to outstrip the United States in nuclear and conventional naval power.

Who says so? Among others, former Secretary of State Dean Acheson. In his eyes, the Russians have not "mellowed" a degree. Their aim remains pushing further westward into Europe. Disarmament negotiations with the United States remain mere propaganda.

It is because they cannot or will not admit this that Willy Brandt's Social Democrats are so intent upon "bridge-building" to the perfidious East.

But there is worse. Once normal political and trade relations fail to produce progress toward the reunification of Germany, Brandt's temptation will be to try to buy it from Moscow at the price of pulling out of an increasingly impotent NATO whose strongest member is itself pussyfooting with the Communist enemy.

Some in Germany and elsewhere deny this. But nothing will convince this old foreign correspondent that in the long run Germans, unlike Poles, Frenchmen and Italians, will consent to remain divided, particularly not since the part under foreign domination is precisely the Prussian nucleus of formerly united modern Germany. In one way or another, reunification will remain that nation's lasting preoccupation.

If, in the interest of a "balance of power" (dear to McGeorge Bundy), NATO (or America) ever ceases to insist on Germany's reunification, or should Brandt fail to do so, the present shaky German government may well be followed by a nationalistic regime that will offer to purchase Germany's reunification from Moscow by the offer of a German-Russian partnership; in short, a new Rapallo Treaty. Once Russia needs no longer fear a resurgent, powerful Germany, there will be no stopping its expansion elsewhere.

★ ★ ★

Willy Brandt is no political fool. Even while he emphasizes strengthening socialism at home and closer ties with Communist Europe, he will try to bring Britain into a strengthened Common Market and make sure of American military protection "just in case."

The question is, how much longer will bridge-building combined with unlimited trade with Communists and major emphasis on a European Common Market be compatible with American protection? How much sense does it make at the same time to maintain an Atlantic military alliance dependent upon American power and to build up the enemy economically and militarily while refusing to increase Europe's strength even in conventional weapons?

To this Chancellor Brandt would probably answer that except for its emphasis on trade with the enemy, "bridge-building" represents essentially an American policy which Presidents Kennedy and Johnson persuaded Europe to follow.

It is Washington, not Bonn, that is primarily seeking basic disarmament agreements or even, it sometimes seems to Europeans, a kind of unformulated world-rule with the USSR. Who most wants Bonn to sign the nuclear nonproliferation treaty? How can the United States expect its allies to spend more on arms?

Far from ctiticizing Brandt, President Nixon seems to consider a united "third force" Europe the necessary complement to his agreements with the Soviet Union —apparently in the belief that the Russo-Chinese rift is "unbridgeable."

Much of NATO's decline derives directly from the Kennedy-Johnson policy of appeasing Russia—the Taylor doctrine of graduated deterrence, the stubborn U.S. refusal to win the war in Viet Nam by all necessary means (a form of pussyfooting with the USSR), the growth of anti-war, pro-Communist sentiment within the United States and, above all, our repudiation of a nuclear first strike in Europe.

How, Europeans want to know, can they prevent the Russians from seizing a large piece of, say, Germany or even Denmark, by conventional methods unless Washington is ready to annihilate the invader's cities as well as his advancing troops, by a nuclear attack?

All Germans realize, though many Americans do not, that without Kennedy's still inexplicable passivity in the face of the illegal erection of the Berlin Wall, East Germany would have remained unviable instead of becoming economically one of the world's 10 most productive countries.

In this sense, America bears a heavy responsibility for whatever costly mistakes Germany, led by Willy Brandt, may make.

No matter where the fault lies, neo-isolationism is rising in the United States. Many who participated in the shameful Viet Nam Moratorium demonstrations were at heart get-in-or-get-out people, weary of having their dearest killed and wounded in a war the Administration refused to win. Our allies should ask themselves how much longer will America accept balance-of-payment difficulties in order to maintain in Europe hundreds of thousands of troops and their families to do a job which a united Europe would be capable of doing for itself.

Such neo-isolationism in the United States will provide another argument for those Germans who already feel that they may have more to gain by neutrality than by remaining within an Atlantic community upon whose strongest member they cannot, in the long run, depend for either reunification or security.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

What About Saigon?

By REP. JOHN ASHBROOK (R.-Ohio)

We made a basic blunder when it was decided under President Johnson and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara that the Vietnamese should pacify and Americans should fight. Now we are reaping the results. The only hope if we withdraw is the ability of the South Vietnamese troops. Still, there are questions which must be answered.

Together, the South Vietnamese and the Americans, and Koreans, Australians, New Zealanders, Thais and others, did not win militarily. If we pull back to an advisory capacity, at best, can Saigon win? Further, will Saigon be allowed to direct the fighting? Will they be free to mine Haiphong harbor in the way the Viet Cong have mined Saigon harbor? Will Saigon be allowed to *win* the war? Or will we tie their hands as we tied the hands of the Nationalist Chinese with the 7th Fleet in the 1950s?

"Strong and effective measures" cannot mean using forces which are no longer there. What does it mean, then?

We all want to end the war in a way which will increase the chance that other Americans will not have to fight in future Viet Nams, but there is serious doubt that this is the way to do it. Let's make no mistake about it: if we pull out before South Viet Nam is secure there will be no second chance.

Spiraling Debt

By REP. JOHN DOWDY (D.-Tex.)

Our national debt is now approximately $362 billion. It was 362 years ago that the first English settlement in the New World was founded, at Jamestown, Va. For many years our government has been indulging itself in deficit spending, adding to the debt. Were we to start paying the debt off at $1 billion per year, it would be discharged by the year 2331. We ought to do better than that for our posterity, and it is past time for us to get started.

Drug Penalty Problems

By REP. RICHARD POFF (R.-Va.)

The present drug penalty structure invites citizen disrespect. It is riddled with inconsistencies, conflicts and contradictions. The penalty for possession of marijuana is a minimum of two years, while the penalty for LSD has a maximum of only one year with no minimum whatever. For the second offense of possession of marijuana, the penalty is about the same as the penalty for manslaughter or sabotage. Such statutory absurdities are self-defeating. The prosecutor is reluctant to prosecute. The jury is reluctant to convict. The judge is reluctant to impose the penalty. And the drug offender gets a *de facto* pardon while society is penalized.

The Justice Department has devised three new penalty packages and invited Congress to choose the package it considers most appropriate. While penalties are graded differently among the three packages, all three have certain features in common.

First, all three distinguish among drug offenders by types—the user, the peddler and the professional criminal.

Second, all three penalty packages distinguish between possession offenders by types—the user-possessor and the seller-possessor.

Third, all three distinguish between the first offender and the repeat offender.

Fourth, all three packages include a mandatory parole component built into every felony except those fixed for the professional criminal, the purpose of which is to compel every felon to undergo a period of supervised rehabilitation before he is released to the streets again.

Fifth, all three packages contain a special penalty provision for the shameful offense of sale by an adult to children under the age of 18; the penalty is doubled and the court is not permitted to suspend the sentence or grant probation.

I am not yet prepared to say which of the three penalty packages is best. However, whichever package Congress chooses will be a realistic, hard-headed improvement over the present penalty system which barks so loud and bites so easily.

The President's Speech

By REP. GEORGE BUSH (R.-Tex.)

The President's speech reaffirmed my conviction that he does have a plan for peace. Some say he has revealed nothing new, yet I would point out that he has revealed a plan for total withdrawal. This should encourage all Americans who want a prompt withdrawal of American forces. I for one am not troubled that he has not revealed details of this plan for the very reasons stressed in his speech: namely, that to do so would be to play into the hands of Hanoi. As we have been aware of the public initiatives for peace, I think it is good he revealed the private initiatives for peace. In discussing the slaughter at Hué, I feel certain the President created among all Americans an even greater awareness of the problems involved in total unilateral withdrawal with no safeguards for the people of South Viet Nam.

Consumer Credit

By SEN. JOHN TOWER (R.-Tex.)

One aspect of consumer credit operations would be improved by a bill which I co-sponsored and which I am pleased to report was recently passed by the Senate. This bill, the Fair Credit Reporting Act, would enable consumers to protect themselves against arbitrary or erroneous information contained in a credit report. It would assure the free flow of necessary credit information while at once protecting the consumer by, among other things, allowing him access to his credit file so that he is not unjustly damaged by an erroneous credit report without even the opportunity of correction. I am hopeful that the House of Representatives will soon approve this measure so that it may become law.

Earlier this year I introduced legislation in another field of consumer protection. My bill would prohibit the use of our postal system for the distribution of unsolicited merchandise which is actually being offered for sale. My bill would not affect the mailing of free samples or legitimate mail order sales. The purpose of the legislation is to protect the consumer from having to either return the merchandise, which would be a burdensome task, or be held liable for payment after a specified period of time. My bill has received support from the Post Office Department, the Consumer Federation of America and the President's special assistant for consumer affairs, Mrs. Virginia Knauer. I look forward to its consideration in Congress.

Hijackers' Lesson

By REP. PAUL ROGERS (D.-Fla.)

I hope that those who preach against and demonstrate for the overthrow of our government will take note of the return of six Americans who hijacked planes and had them flown to Cuba. These people, who turned their backs on their homeland, quickly realized the blessings of life in the United States compared to life under the Communist dictatorship of Fidel Castro. And it must be realized that these six returned to the United States even though they now face possible death sentences. I think this thoroughly repudiates the propaganda that life in Cuba today is anything short of a depression level. I hope that those who denounce the United States will take careful note of what those who have left America and experienced life in a Communist country have to say now.

Military Procurement

By REP. LESLIE ARENDS (R.-Ill.)

We were one of the members of the House-Senate Conference Committee in charge of the military procurement bill. We had many long, morning and afternoon, sessions to iron out the differences between the House and Senate versions of the bill. We shall not attempt to detail here the many specific items on which the House receded or the Senate receded from its positions or on which compromises were reached.

In dollars our conference report (adopted recently by the House) totals $20,723,202,000. It is $624,658,000 less than the bill passed by the House and $721,616,000 more than the Senate-passed bill. Our final figure is $1.25 billion less than the President recommended.

The controversial ABM is a part of this bill. The Senate spent 56 days debating this matter. It is perhaps of interest that at no time during the many meetings of the House and Senate conferees was the ABM even mentioned. This is another instance where the emotionalism of the moment has spent itself and reason has prevailed.

'New Barbarians'

By REP. BUZ LUKENS (R.-Ohio)

I believe in the constitutional right to dissent. But I am tired of anti-war demonstrators, recently referred to as the New Barbarians, attempting through carnival-like tactics to impose their minority view on the American public. These demonstrators have rightly been termed the New Barbarians. Just like the Visigoths of old, they are working to destroy our legacy of democracy, liberty and dignity that reaches back to Moses. The time has come to distinguish the heart of the problem. Do you want to support Hanoi? Do you want the kind of government that Hanoi has? The people directing the upcoming demonstrations are supporting Hanoi's cause.

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WALLACE ON VIET NAM—Before departing recently for a three-week tour of South Viet Nam and other Asian-Pacific nations, George Wallace predicted that South Viet Nam will be an issue in the 1972 presidential contest, whether or not fighting is still going on. "If South Viet Nam were turned over to the Communists, either in effect or in substance, that indeed would be an issue in the 1972 election."

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FRIGHTFUL AWAKENING—Seems there was a man named Joe who fell asleep for 20 years and, upon awakening, decided to find out how his investments had held up. He called his broker, explained about the 20-year delay in contacting him, then asked: "How's my Xerox doing?" The broker replied that it had split 17 times and that Joe's $5,000 investment was now worth a cool $6 million. "How's my Polaroid?" asked Joe. He was told Polaroid had split 15 times and his stock was worth $10 million. As Joe was about to inquire about his AT&T and General Motors stock, the operator interrupted to say: "I'm sorry, sir, your three minutes are up. Please deposit $50,000!"

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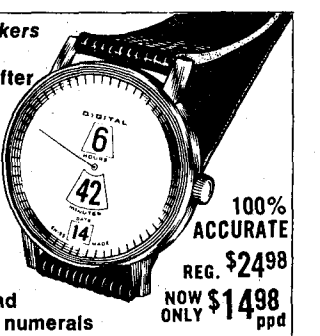

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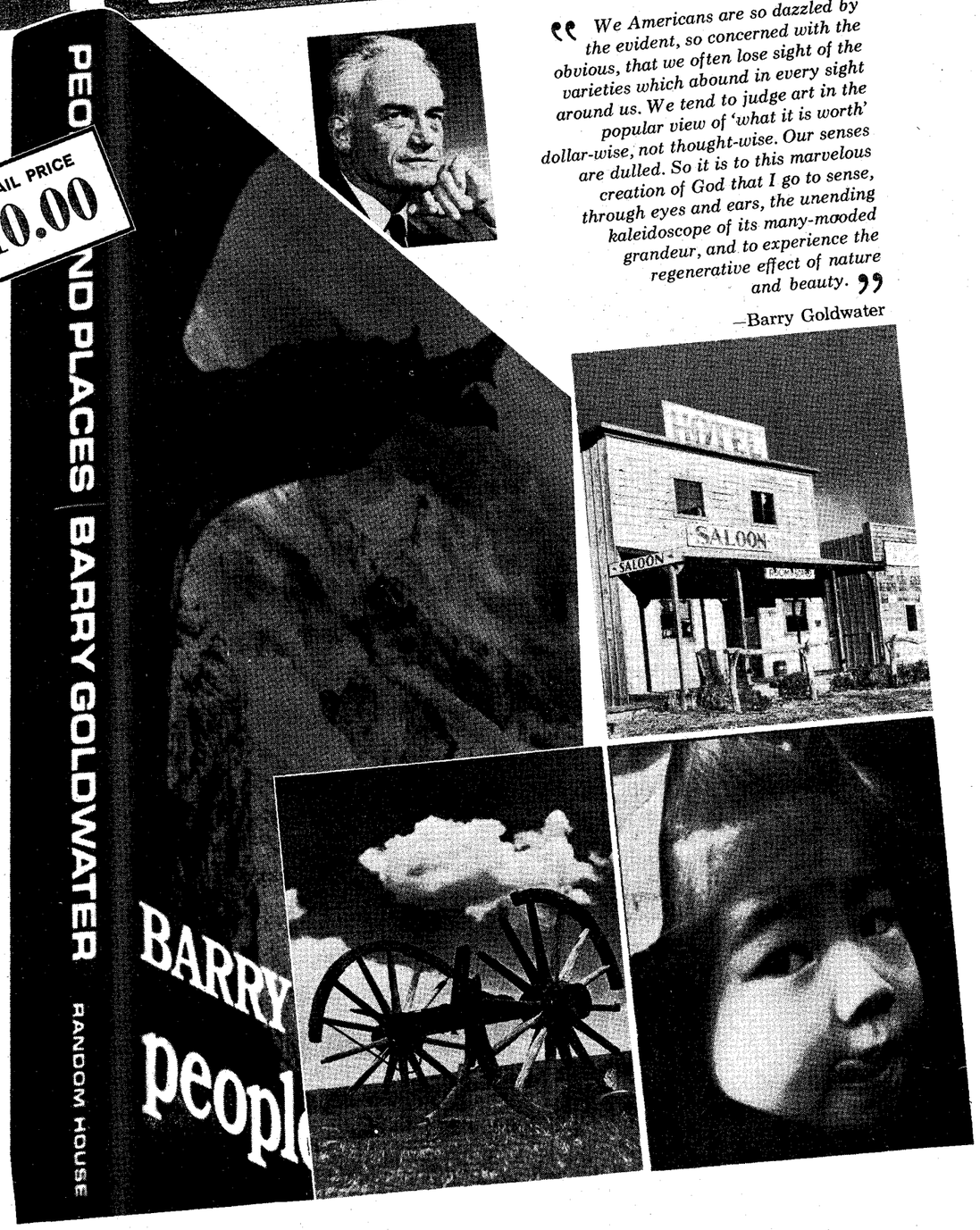

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